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also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that

> . . . the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother, and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.
>
> . . . The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the outstanding feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially towards the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual practice the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appropriate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the same privilege (15, p. 30).

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There is a certain number of commoners who seem to be related, not to the modern great chiefs, but to the ancient chiefs who have become submerged politically. Examples of such submerged chiefs are Mahina, Puakatea, and Takalatea of Vavau, who, though subjects of the Tui Tonga, were conquered by the ambitious Tui Kanokupolu Vuna. 565 622 602

It is considered bad form in Tonga to-day to name people as commoners unless the person who is giving the information is of high rank. For one commoner to name others as commoners is improper and also unwise, incurring enmity. 565 576

A good example of the relationship which prevails between a chief and the people who inhabit his hereditary lands is presented on the island of Okoa, Vavau. The overlord is the Tui Lakepa, who also owns the neighboring island of Ofu and has holdings in Tongatabu. The mayor of Okoa is Afu Haa Mango, a matapule, a relative of the Tui Lakepa. An earlier Tui Lakepa had a daughter, Kaufusi, who was the mother of Shadrach Afu Haa Mango. Kaufusi had brothers Nautu, Masiu, Kalau, Paulalolo, and Ilai. These brothers are the grandfathers of the inhabitants of Okoa and Ofu. The people living in the Tui Lakepa's *tofia* in Tongatabu, are also his relatives and the relatives of the Okoans. 622 565

The relation which subsists between a person of high rank and that person's inferior relatives is revealed by the following: A woman of high rank, closely related to the last Tamaha and sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho, now resides in Vavau, the home of her mother now deceased. She had a number of servants about her home, all of whom she said were her relatives on her mother's side. When she resides in Haapai, relatives from her father's side of the family serve her. She said that anciently the servants of chiefs were invariably their relatives not unrelated commoners. She strongly emphasized the bond of blood between the highest chiefs and the commoners. 565 602 622

Many a commoner treasures the link of genealogy that connects him with some high chief. Thus Peter Koloamatangi claimed Tui Tonga blood, because his paternal grandfather was brother's son of a Tamaha.

The word *fanautaina* (child of the village) means a child born of a woman of a particular locality, begotten of a chief. At times a handsome girl was taken to a chief in order to bring chiefly blood to a place. A child is reckoned as belonging to the place of its father or its mother according to its residence, but still the blood bond with the village to which they belong is recognized and can be utilized. All people of such a village would speak of themselves as related to the chief, although many of them were not. 622 602 837 [611]

Most Tongan informants are agreed that in spite of the wide range of social standing, the Tongan population of to-day is of one origin and is not comprised of immigrants (conquerors) and indigenes (conquered). The 829 186

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and the subsequent apprehension and cruel punishment of his murderers (26, p. 34).

Many fights occur at *pola* fishing (p. 146). Some young man on the outside of the fishing fence, where all except the officials belong until the signal is given to cross it, seeing his enemy close at hand among the *kauleo* deliberately crosses the fence and fishes on the wrong side. His enemy strives to break his spear and drive him back. Other young men take sides and use their spears for purposes other than fishing. It is the duty of the older men to stop such fights (*toutakao*).

To call a person *matapapanga* (flat-faced person) constitutes an outrageous insult to the man or woman so denoted.

A sort of preemptive right to all the women of their districts was accepted by the people as a chief's prerogative. The late Ata used to lie in wait for women beside the road, and none dared complain, because he was a high chief.

A great chief, whose daughter or other female living with him was seduced, would order people to bring the culprit, and the chief himself, or someone delegated to do so, would beat the man over the face and body with a branch of *loholoho* (coconut stem from which small nuts hang), and send him home. The girl would be beaten also and might be sent back to her seducer after a beating in public or in presence of her family. A seducer was beaten even though a chief, provided the girl he seduced was of higher rank and provided marriage did not follow at once.

A man who had intercourse with a young girl before her first menstruation would be beaten severely or killed, according to the extent of the anger of the girl's relatives. The father of the girl or her maternal male relatives avenged her, but not her brothers.

No compounding for the crime of raping a young girl was tolerated. If a daughter of a high chief was raped and the culprit knew that the chief had knowledge of the fact, the man would go and tell his whole family of what he had done. The family would ask the grandson of the chief to intercede, and wearing girdles of *ifi* leaves around the neck and waist, would go to the father of the outraged girl. The man and his family would sit down outside the chief's house, bow down their heads and send his grandson in to him. The grandson would call out the chief's name and say: "Excuse me. These people have come here with me. Excuse me, don't be angry, or if you are angry do what you like to me, but let these people go free." The grandson and not the son of the chief would be the interceder because the son must show respect to both father and sister, while the grandson may take liberties. If the chief were clement, the affair was ended. No gifts were given, for if he accepted gifts it would be disgraceful, as it would look like encouragement of the act. It was customary for

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On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *kaikai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class.

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

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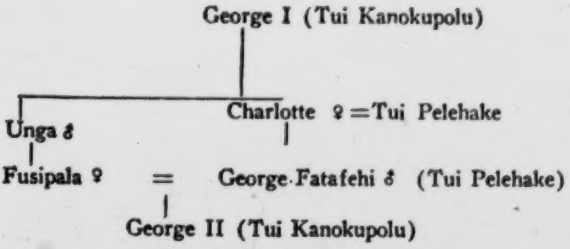
(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage, i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare.



Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats), for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross-cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look after the sister's children.

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family, which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*.

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife.

Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social intercourse between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home, except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise.

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she

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Ofa went to Tongatabu, where he lived at or near the residence of the Tui Tonga. A child was born to the Tui Tonga by one of his concubines. After a time the Tui Tonga sailed to Haapai and left the mother and child in the care of Ofa. But Ofa and the woman became too fond, and when the Tui Tonga returned from Haapai, he found the child ill. Recourse was had to spinning a coconut to discover by whose fault the child was sick, and the lot fell on the Tui Tonga and the concubine. On again spinning the coconut between these two, the concubine was indicated. She admitted her intimacy with Ofa. The child recovered and the Tui Tonga said to name him Takeleveka, after Ofa's father. This child, though the son of a Tui Tonga, was adopted as the son of Ofa.

Another good example of divination by coconut spinning is given on page 298.

In the account of Peter Vi (3) concerning the introduction of Christianity *into Haapai, the following example of* divination is mentioned, as presaging the favorable or unfavorable reception of Christianity by the Haapai chiefs. Peter Vi was proceeding from Tongatabu to Lifuka Island, about 1830, to give Christian instruction and was doing so at the wish of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai, who later became King George I. "And we cast lots. If we arrived at Haafeva and Haveahikuleo [Tuuhetoka] was sitting with torn mats around his loins as a sign of mourning, we were to know that the chiefs of Haapai were very angry. And when we arrived we saw that Tuuhetoka had mourning mats on."

The following account was furnished by Mr. W. H. Murley:

In July 1909 a small boy was sitting by himself in a house in Futu in Niuafoou [Futu had been demolished by a hurricane in April, 1909] and a man whom he had not previously seen entered and asked the small youth if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The boy replied that he did not, that he was yet young and without learning. The man answered, "Then you will know, for in the month of September your people will not be able to sit down to eat, for something dreadful will occur." With that the man turned to go and the boy saw with startled eyes that the man had wings. He walked a little, then lifted himself and flew out of sight. The boy has been most strictly cross-questioned but he still sticks to his original story. As a consequence people are leaving Niuafoou whenever the opportunity occurs.

The island in the middle of the lake has been split in halves through earthquakes. I will leave this space open so that should anything of importance occur in confirmation of the boy's vision or whatever it might be, I will write it down.

In September 1912 volcanoes burst out in Futu in all directions and the aspect in that part has been changed. Nobody was killed and the eruption lasted only a week or so.

OMENS

Many omens require no priest nor diviner for interpretation at the present day, though anciently the priests and diviners may have been consulted about them. The omens include sneezing, the movements of animals, and certain meteorological and celestial phenomena.

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A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster.

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned.

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.)

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.)

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow.

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity.

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words.

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man.

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following:

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death."

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712 prevent the seditious from forming cabals and
[724] parties, which they might more easily do whilst
[661] living at a distance up the country, than they could under the eyes of the king. But it was not proposed that they should reside constantly at the garrison, and, by that means, neglect their plantations in the country, but that each should have a house built with the usual conveniences for his wife and family, within the fencing, to reside in at night, visiting his plantations during the day; or to retire to wholly, in case of invasion, civil commotion, and when-
[634] ever the king should order him to do so. This proposal of Finow Fiji being assented to by the king, the former requested permission to have the sole management of laying out the plan, and to see it carried into effect, which the latter readily agreed to.

During the time the garrison was being re-
668 built, a circumstance happened which seemed
754 to indicate that a conspiracy was on the eve of
634 being formed, if not actually begun, and, as the circumstance alluded to is connected with a certain superstitious ceremony worthy of detail, we shall be particular in the description of it, and give the account of it exactly as it happened.

[837] Foonagi, the wife of Finow Fiji, and formerly the wife of Tymomangnoongoo (a great warrior,

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who was a party concerned in taking the Port au Prince), was a woman of uncommon penetration and discernment, and, on that account, as well as from the circumstance of her being the daughter of a chief who was a friend of the late Finow's father, was highly regarded by the late king, and who attached himself to her so much, that it is supposed she lived with him as his mistress during the time that she was actually the wife of her first husband. She was a woman extremely religious, and universally respected, on account of her accurate knowledge with regard to all religious ceremonies, on which subject she was frequently consulted by the chiefs; and, upon political matters, Finow himself often consulted her, for in this, also, she stood eminent in the esteem of every one. To Finow she seemed as much attached as he to her; and, after his death, mourned his loss with a sorrow beyond the reach of comfort. She, above all others, was most attentive in decorating with flowers planted by her own hand, and, with the utmost solicitude, keeping in order the *fytoca* where lay the body of her deceased friend. For the space of six months this faithful mourner scarcely ever slept but on his grave, watering it with her tears, and disturbing the silence of the night with her sighs. One day she went, with the deepest affliction, to the house of Mo-oonga

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Toobó, the widow of the deceased chief, to communicate what had happened to her at the *fytoca* during several nights, and which caused her the greatest anxiety. She related that she had dreamed that the late How appeared to her, and, with a countenance full of disappointment, asked, why there yet remained at Vavaoo so many evil-designing persons; for, he declared, that, since he had been at Bolotoo, his spirit had been disturbed by the evil machinations of wicked men conspiring against his son; but he declared that "the youth" should not be molested, nor his power shaken by the spirit of rebellion; that therefore he came to her with a warning voice, to prevent such disastrous consequences. The apparition next desired her to place in order the pebble-stones upon his grave*, and pay every attention to the *fytoca;* he then disappeared. This troublesome dream she had had three or four nights successively. Mo-oonga Toobó, upon hearing this account, thought it expedient to search the *fytoca*, to see if the charm of *tattao*† had not been practised in re-

* It must here be recollected, that mourners were accustomed to smooth the graves of their departed friends, and cover them with black and white pebbles.

† The charm of *tattao* consists in hiding upon the grave, or in any part of the *fytoca*, some portion of the wearing apparel of an inferior relation of the deceased, in consequence of which that relation will sicken and die; or, it may be bu-

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nature, which is universally prevalent among 577
the men as well as the women, and which is
plainly depicted in the countenances of most of
them. Taking all things into consideration, [181]
we must not venture to call them a humane
people; but, on the contrary, to say they were
cruel would certainly be making use of too harsh
a term.

The next subject we shall consider is chastity. 831
In respect to this, their notions are widely dif-
ferent from those of most European nations;
we must, therefore, first examine what are their
own ideas respecting this matter, and if they
are such as are consistent with public decorum
and due order and regularity in the social state,
without tending to enervate the mind or debase
the character of man, we shall take those ideas
as the standard by which to judge them, and as
far as they act consistently thereto we shall call
them chaste, and as far as they infringe upon it
we shall deem them offenders. But here it may
be asked how are we to judge whether their
own notions upon this subject are consistent
with the good order of society, &c. To this we
can make no other answer than by referring to
the actual state of society there, and pointing
out those evils which may be supposed to arise
from their wrong notions upon this subject.

In the first place, it is universally considered 837

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a positive duty in every married woman to remain true to her husband. What we mean by a married woman is, one who cohabits with a man, and lives under his roof and protection, holding an establishment of him. A woman's marriage is frequently independent of her consent, she having been betrothed by her parents, at an early age, to some chief, mataboole or mooa: perhaps about one third of the married women have been thus betrothed; the remaining two thirds have married with their free consent. Every married woman must remain with her husband whether she choose it or not, until he please to divorce her. Mr. Mariner thinks that about two thirds of the women are married, and of this number full half remain with their husbands till death separates them; that is to say, full one third of the female population remain married till either themselves or their husbands die: the remaining two thirds are married and are soon divorced, and are married again perhaps three, four, or five times in their lives, with the exception of a few who, from whim or some accidental cause, are never married; so that about one third of the whole female population, as before stated, are at any given point of time unmarried. This calculation is made with due reference to the women living on the plantations, who are almost all married to the

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tooas who till the ground, and remain constantly so; the unmarried women, therefore, live principally at the mooa, or place where the chiefs, matabooles, &c. dwell, and are attendants upon them or their wives. Girls that are too young to be marriageable are not taken into account. Having thus ascertained, as nearly as possible, the proportion of married women, we shall make an inquiry how far it may reasonably be supposed they are entitled to the reputation of fidelity. During the whole of Mr. Mariner's four years residence at one or other of these islands, he had frequent opportunities of intimacy with the wives of chiefs; for being a foreigner, and a white man, he was free from a great many restrictions to which the natives are subject: for instance, whenever he pleased he could go in the houses of Finow's wives, or of the wives of other chiefs, and converse freely with them as long as he chose, which was a liberty that no male native could take beside the husband, relations, or the cooks that carried in the victuals; and from habit they became so much accustomed to his company and conversation as to think very little more of his presence than of one of their own sex, and consequently he had every favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with their habits and sentiments, particularly as one of the old king's wives, his

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adopted mother, was a woman of very good sense and unaffected manners, and freely discoursed with him upon all points that related to her happiness, to that of her female acquaintance, or to the condition of the women in general; besides which, it must be recollected, that Mr. Mariner, being upon the greatest intimacy with the principal chiefs, was acquainted with most of their intrigues, which they did not scruple to relate to him, both on account of the confidence they had in him, and his being a foreigner*.

With such opportunities of knowing the habits of the natives, relative to the subject in question, Mr. Mariner is decidedly of opinion that infidelity among the married women is comparatively very rare. He only recollects three successful instances of planned intrigue during the whole of his time; one at the Hapai islands, on the part of Voogi, (the young chief mentioned on the occasion of the old king's death,) who was considered the handsomest man at the Tonga islands; and two on the part of the present king, whose high rank and authority

* This seems an odd reason for placing confidence in such matters; but it arises from this circumstance, that, being a foreigner, he was not supposed to take that interest in their concerns which might lead a native to thwart any conduct which he did not happen to approve of.

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must on the one hand render his attentions flattering to the women, whilst on the other it may be supposed to excite a little apprehension of the consequences of a refusal. A fourth instance may perhaps be added, on the part of the late king, with respect to Foonagi, the wife of Tymomangnoongoo, but this is only upon suspicion. Several other instances no doubt there were, at different islands; but as so few were known to him, who had better opportunities of information than any native, we may presume that infidelity on the part of the women is a very unfrequeut occurrence; and where it does happen, it must be with the connivance of their female attendants and servants, who are always with them, and attend them abroad, not as spies over their conduct, but as companions, it not being thought decorous, particularly for the wife of a chief, to walk out by herself: the wives of matabooles and mooas may walk out in the neighbourhood without attendants, but never to any distance. These are, therefore, great restrictions upon the conduct of married women; but there is one still greater, viz. the fear of discovery, which must operate very strongly on the part of the wives of great chiefs, in whom an act of infidelity might occasion her husband to prevent a repetition by killing her: and as to the wives of persons of lesser

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rank, they might at least expect a severe beating, and the offender himself come off as badly, if not worse: but, independent of these restrictions, &c. Mr. Mariner is of opinion that the women are disposed to be faithful to their husbands, as being in their own acknowledgment their superiors, guardians, and protectors; and most of them, he firmly believes, are much attached to them, as he judges from their conduct when they become widows: witness the behaviour of Toobo Nuha's widows, and those of the late king. Mafi Habe, Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, did not, after the king died, marry another, or admit a lover; although Voogi, who was considered the handsomest, and one of the most agreeable men in all the Tonga islands, became passionately in love with her, and would have paid his addresses with the greatest fervour and perseverance, if she had allowed him opportunities: at this time she was at the Hapai islands, residing with her father, under whose protection she remained at the time Mr. Mariner left the islands, which was about eight months after her husband's death; though she might have married again, without any impropriety, two months afterwards, or allowed of an amour without any reproach. With respect to the wives of the lower ranks in society, they are oftener to be met with alone,

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and on such occasions sometimes consent to the solicitations of chiefs whom they may happen to meet, not, as Mr. Mariner thinks, from an abandoned principle, or want of affection to their husbands, but from a fear of incurring the resentment of their superiors: the wives even of the lowest orders, he thinks, are very faithfully attached to their husbands.

From the above investigation, we think it would be but giving a fair opinion of the reputation of the married women to say, that they are not only circumspect in conduct, but chaste in principle; and when we consider that the married women form about two thirds of the female population, (that are marriageable,) it will give us no mean opinion of their moral reputation.

When a man divorces his wife, which is attended with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go, she becomes perfect mistress of her own conduct, and may marry again, which is often done a few days afterwards, without the least disparagement to her character: or if she choose she may remain single and admit a lover occasionally, or may cohabit with her lover for a time, and remain at his house without being considered his wife, having no particular charge of his domestic concerns, and may leave him when she pleases, and this she

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586 may also do without the least reproach or the
587 least secrecy. From this circumstance we may
836 draw an argument in favour of the chastity of
837 the women generally, for if they were of a dif-
581 ferent character it is natural to suppose that
[831] very few would marry, except those who, when very young, were betrothed to chiefs, and consequently married independently of their consent: but we find that three times that number are actually married: and as many are married three, four, or five times, it cannot be from an unchaste, libertine, or wandering disposition on the part of the women, seeing that when once divorced they may remain single if they please, and enjoy all the liberty that the most libertine heart can desire. If now it be asked, "Why then do they marry?" The answer is, for love of one object, with the idea that the object of their affections will *always* make them happy; and if they are disappointed in one instance they are willing to try it in a second, a third, &c.: in short, it would appear that the force of sentimental affection blinds them to the probability of a disappointment, and they willingly make a generous sacrifice of their liberty to prove the strength of their attachment*.

836 As to those women who are not actually mar-
832

* The position, that every woman is at heart a rake, does not appear to hold true in the Tonga islands.

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ried, they may bestow their favours upon whomsoever they please, without any opprobrium: it must not, however, be supposed, that these women are always easily won; the greatest attentions and most fervent solicitations are sometimes requisite, even though there be no other lover in the way. This happens sometimes from a spirit of coquetry, at other times from a dislike to the party, &c. It is thought shameful for a woman *frequently* to change her lover. Great presents are by no means certain methods of gaining her favours, and consequently they are more frequently made afterwards than before. Gross prostitution is not known among them.

With regard to the habits of the men in this respect, it must in the first place be observed, that no man is understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity: it is no reproach to him to intermix his amours, though if a married man does this to excess it is thought inconsistent: notwithstanding this liberty of conduct, however, most of the married men are tolerably true to their wives; and where they have any other amour it is kept a secret from the wife, not out of any fear or apprehension, but because it is unnecessary to excite her jealousy, and make her perhaps unhappy: for it must be said, to the honour of the men, that they consult in no

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837 small degree, and in no few respects, the happiness and comfort of their wives. In such a case of amour, the female he is attached to never offers to associate with the wife during the time she cohabits with the husband; for this would be thought a great insult, though afterwards she may, as freely as if nothing had happened, even though the wife may have [152] known of the transaction. The women of course feel occasionally much jealousy, but it is seldom strongly expressed, and very rarely produces any fatal consequences: pride generally causes them to conceal this passion.

836 With respect to the unmarried men, their conduct is of course free, but they seldom make any deliberate attempts upon the chastity of 839 other men's wives. Rape, however, sometimes happens, and young chiefs are the perpetrators: but if a woman is known to be married, even though her husband be only a *tooa*, it would most likely save her from this outrage; and if she did not choose to give her consent, she might go free without farther molestation. [727] When a woman is taken prisoner (in war), she generally has to submit; but this is a thing of course, and considered neither an outrage nor a dishonour: the only dishonour being to be a prisoner, and consequently a sort of servant to [684] the conqueror. Rape, though always con-

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539 Na'e 'oku 'i he faka-lakepa,
Kae 'ou he takotofa.
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Kuo taofi e Tonga,
Tuku pe ke mau vaka-mu'a,
Ke vakai ki ai e laula.
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Malimali loto he lea,
Fai mu'a ke puli emo anga,
Kae toki tali 'ilo e taha.
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Si'i manu-siu ene nga,
Tuku pe keu halafekina,
Pe te ne 'iloa hono uhinga?
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.

The place where men work was for me,'
But where they may rest for thee.'
Blow, blow, etc.
Tonga's judgment is given clearly,
Let our boat sail along chiefly,
That all of the fleet may see.
Blow, blow, etc.
My words have they heard gladly,
Hide your ways for none to see,
Till someone replies knowingly.
Blow, blow, etc.
The poor bird seeks his prey wearily,'
Ahead another way I shall be,
Shall he know the way that I flee?
Blow, blow, etc.

Oi tu ke fai pe ke mau,
Fakatotonu hotau faiva,
Ko ha'aku ena faka-vaka-tapu,

Ko ha'ata ena faka-'otu-sia;
Na'e fakaha 'i Fale-'o-valu,
Na'e 'ako pe 'i Mata-hina.
Tuku atu a ma'au ke fa'u,
Tuku atu a ke mou feia.
Na'a ke pehe ko ha 'uta au,
Na'a ke tokua ko ha 'uta kita,
He 'oku te tongia pe e fohe,
He 'oku te 'uli volaki pe,

He koe popoto moe matangi vale,
Telia e Tonga 'oku tafue.
Oi, ho ho 'i he aue.
Angi mai, angi mai, e he,
'Uoi he angi, e he he.

Let our songs be fashioned aright,
Correct what is not to your gree,
Like a chief's boat may I seem in your sight,
Like the storied mounds my glory;'
'Twas shown in the fisherman's bight,
'Twas learnt on the shark-catching reef.
Be it thine the verses to dight,'
You the makers of poems shall be.
In the land, thou saidst, I delight,'
Yea a landsman, thou saidst, verily,
But I take my turn at the steering,
Take my stand at the helm, nothing fearing,
Skill have I when the winds are veering,
For Tonga when dangers are nearing.
Oi, ho ho for the cheering.
Blow, blow *e he*,
O ho for the breeze *e he he*.

Poem of Mamaeaepoto

539 484 505 The following poem is described as a plaint of Mamaeaepoto when he was landed at Falevai, in Vavau Harbor, from the canoes of the chief Ulukalala, who was commencing a voyage from Vavau to Tongatabu. It was customary for a chief's fleet to take a large number of people a short distance, as an honorable escorting of the chief from the home anchorage. Many of these would leave the fleet before being out of the home waters. I have seen young men and women come outside an anchorage on board a boat they wished to honor, and then jump overboard and swim ashore. Mamaeaepoto had thought that he would be of those chosen to make the whole voyage, but found to his chagrin that he was expected to go ashore. He complains that he would not have gone on board at all, but that he was asked to go. He seemed not to blame the chief so much for his discomfiture as ill-wishers who have belittled him. Another account of the origin

[837]

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of the poem says that Mamaeaepoto sailed to Tonga, and that during his absence his wife proved unfaithful to him, and that her infidelity is the ground of his complaint, or rather he blames his absence which gave opportunity for attempts against his marriage felicity, an absence which was not through any desire of his own, but because he was asked to go to Tonga, and wished to show proper deference to his chief by obedience. The allusions in the poem seem to fit better the former explanation of its origin, but his wife may have proved unfaithful while he was away from home nevertheless, and while his disappointment at being put ashore may be the main theme, it is possible for there to be allusions also to a domestic mischance. Tongan compositions are full of allusions intelligible only to those who have an intimate knowledge of the circumstances.

Let none hardly judge me,
Neither he who was landed, nor he who sailed.
For 'twas not my wish to go,
There came to me the command
Of Fifita and Ulialangatau[1]
To prepare for a voyage,
This whereon I have come,
Carrying out my wish to show respect.
I thought, my friends,
That I would be a chiefly boat to you,[2]
For to me is gathered much fame.
But it seems forsooth, there were cares, *e*,
Had it not been indeed for your word, *e*,
That I come down to Neiafu that is close, *e*,
And wait at Vaomafana, *e*,
Go by land to Vaofakalava, *e*,
For I am a man skilled [in verse],[3]
As knows yon circle of chiefs.[4]
But 'twas said to thrust me out,
For I'm but a woman in the boat;[5]
Ne'er before have I been thus despised,
Ne'er before forbidden to sail.
Harken now, director and singer,
Fashion us a double canoe.[6]
Her two hulls Hunga and Maninita,
Talau and Teisina the decks,
For mast we shall have Tuungasika,
For deck house Kahifehifa,
The sail is the First Ahoia,
The steer oar the bay Fangakima,
Matoto the crew of the vessel.
We shall sail on a day of pleasure,
And seek Moahengi in Uiha.[7]
For I was landed through anger,
I had done no wrong to be righted.
Then go ye, go ye on your voyage, *e*,[8]
But I, I am left here in shame, *e*;
They said that I was being honored, *e*,
"Stay thou with the chiefs who are staying.
Bend your mind to the care of the country,
And pray that our land be preserved."[9]
When 'tis calm we shall seek the bonito,[10]
Paddle about the outermost islands,[11]
Go ashore at Great Water and Kaho.
For 'tis a sport that speaks to our liking."[12]
Ah, come, tell me thy thought,[13]
Thou stranger that dwellest here;
For the wind was blowing fairly
From the land at Falevai,
At the banyan where we landed,
Left the boats and here returned.
And my pain runs swift
As Fusi puts out to sea,[14]
And the drum beats out a sea song[15]
For sorrow that I am left.
And when Fusimomoho puts out to sea,
Raises the chant of her sea song,
In my poor heart is sudden pang.
The yearning not to stay.
Ho he ho he 'io.
Ho he ho hiau he 'io.

Poem of Falepapalangi[1]

This is written against a rival, but there is nothing to show who the rival is. Probably it is Mamaeaepoto.

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539 *Dracaena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sigi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *kau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne foi*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] [585] [837] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuanaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

[825] [776] 1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 825 The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *matoaleale* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] [551] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 [192] 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloa*, *faahikehe*, and *tevolo*.

[182] [192] [191] 2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua*. The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumu-whenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

[177] [845] [783] 3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

[779] [824] 1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] [115] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niu* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

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deck of the smaller canoe, where he really belongs, and where his talent in song and verse is useful, to spring to the steer-oar. "That we may be equal" seems to be an equalizing of Mamaeaepoto with men in general for, though it would not seem that Falepapalangi claimed much skill in a canoe, still he had normal hands and Mamaeaepoto had not. The oars were in pairs, and the sense may be more exclusively the figurative one of claiming equality with Falepapalangi, who represents himself and Mamaeaepoto as a pair of rowers or steersmen, working in successful partnership at their task of providing entertainment.

14. Falepapalangi returns to the claim of seamanship with another gibe at Mamaeaepoto's hands. The *kaasi* was a short pole, lashed outboard from the outrigger canoe, on which, in rough weather, a man stood, moving along it to keep the boat's balance; from here he also gave sailing directions. Obviously it was not the place for a man who was not physically perfect. Furthermore, if he needed anything, for instance food, it was simply thrown to him. Hence the gibe.

15. The word *ama* is the name of the smaller of the two canoes in a double canoe, where the passengers and those not on duty sit, and pass the time in conversation and singing; *mata'u* is the name of the larger of the two canoes where the work is done. Hence *lau-ama*, sing, *lau-mata'u*, work.

16. "Stand in the song," that is, dance; a more literal translation would be "sing standing." The hands are clapped in much of the dancing.

Pages 69-70. A dance song of Falepapalangi

1. The phrase *toi ke lilo* is from the game of hide-and-seek. The poet advises the rival to keep out of sight, but if he is unwilling to be hidden at any rate not to attempt to equalize himself with men who can really do things.

2. The word *lupe* means pigeon, and has reference to the sitting on the deck of the canoe chatting and singing. The pictures of sea life throughout the piece are to be taken literally, and with metaphorical application to skill in poetry.

3. The decking in the forward part of canoe, where men fit for difficult work were stationed, was termed *faka-lakepa*. In rough weather men sometimes lay there, forming a living bulwark to prevent the boat from being swamped.

4. I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the word *takotofa*, but from the context it seems to be a part of the boat for passengers and men not on duty.

5. The metaphor changes to that of a sea-bird seeking food. The rival is the bird, wearied with a long and fruitless flight, "I will get in ahead of him by a short cut, by another road."

6. The pigeon-snaring mounds, which were such a favorite theme of poetry.

7. Possibly refers to a victory of the bard at Matahina, a reef in Vavau, a famous shark-fishing ground. If Mamaeaepoto is the rival all the more point is given to Falepapalangi's claim of victory over him in respect of localities in Vavau.

8. The lines beginning "In the land, thou saidst, I delight" have some reference to actual seamanship, yet the main current of meaning concerns poetry. When it looked as though Tonga would be beaten in the contests of bards, Falepapalangi was able to steer her to victory.

Pages 70-71. A poem of Mamaeaepoto

1. Fifita and Ulialangatau are probably *matapule* of Ulukalala.

2. That you would honor me.

3. His skill in verse is the reason that the poet was to hold himself in readiness to sail.

4. The remark is addressed to the assemblage to whom he actually recited the poem.

5. Two currents of thought are expressed; one complimentary, the other not. Women are not regarded as useful members of the crew in working the boat, but are appreciated for their assistance in minor matters that make for the comfort of voyaging, and especially for the brightness they give by their presence and conversation and song.

6. "We shall fashion a wonder boat, whose different parts are the localities named; our boat shall be a song celebrating all these places." Since different localities are accustomed to cooperate in large tasks, this carries the sense of a grandiloquent call by the disappointed man to all these places—islands, hills, and beaches.

7. Moahengi is apparently the name of a man in Uiha, an island of Haapai.

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8. Two copies of the text read *Pea mou o ne, o folaue;* I know no meaning for *ne* in this position, and a very intelligent Tongan emended it to *pe*.

9. It is not clear whether pray (*lotu*) is used in the Christian sense, or whether some supplication to heathen deities is meant. Mamaeaepoto lived into the Christian period.

10. Here is a sting. Ostensibly the meaning is that when affairs are all settled in the country and it is easy for all the leading men to go away on an excursion of pleasure, then "we shall go away with you on a trip." Secondarily, there is the sense that "we shall pick nice calm weather for a chap like you, who is not much of a man." Mamaeaepoto retorts that the day was a good sailing day, and secondarily, that there were not difficulties anywhere in the country that necessitated his staying.

11. Although these lines have been taken as the pretext and consolatory remarks made to Mamaeaepoto when he was left behind, it is quite possible to understand them as perfectly sincere remarks addressed by Mamaeaepoto to his companions in misfortune.

12. The word *fasi* (song, tune), stands in the margin of my copy of the poem in several places, apparently a direction for the performance of the piece. It stands opposite the lines which have *e* at the end. It is difficult to say what, precisely, is intended. Perhaps the bard recited the greater part of the poem, and a chorus joined in on the lines indicated.

13. Fusi is probably the name of a man; Fusi-momoho is the name of a boat.

14. Drums were carried on canoes, and beaten as they left, or drew near to, land, and also at other times to cheer and encourage the crews.

Pages 71-72. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. Two copies of the text have been used, and the text presented here is a little longer than either.

2. The "new boat" is a poem, or a festival, performed in Hahake, the great seat of chiefly residence. It seems that Falepapalangi was defeated, or criticised, by his rival; he replies that his composition, whose theme was the Pale, a headland in Vavau, was composed hurriedly, without much time for polishing, as the bard tossed it off in the fervor of inspiration, using the breeze of inspiration while it was blowing.

3. *Telae* is a little fish that springs along on the rocks, making its way back to the sea when disturbed. The *siale* is a weak and unaggressive shrub, whose blooms fade soon after they are picked. The tropic bird cannot rise when fallen.

4. "A strife of strong fish" is proverbial for a contest of those who are strong and well-matched (17, No. 211).

5. The eminence to which the rival has attained by his victory is likened to his going up and surveying the scene from the headland of Tave in Eua.

6. This reminder that modesty is becoming may be a literal statement that the rival is not skillful at sea, as well as the figurative assertion that in the craft of the bard he has not all the gifts.

8. *Uhiuhi* is the name of a plant.

9. A very bold and effective metaphor. "Possessed" is used in the sense of demonic possession, sick.

10. Veuki is the name of Falepapalangi's compound.

11. Literally. "Wearier, wearer out, of day and night." Instead of "contest," some word such as "song" might be supplied. It is possible that he refers to some scornful question in the rival's poem as to who this Falepapalangi is.

12. In Tongan speech, especially in ceremonial speech in the presence of chiefs, it is very common to guard oneself when about to mention something that perhaps it is not polite to speak about.

13. This metaphor relates to the game of *lafo*. The position supposed is that his opponent's last throw is in scoring position, nearest to the edge of the *lafo*, also near the mat. This is the poem which has been successful. Falepapalangi has a piece of his own standing just near this. Falepapalangi is now throwing his last piece, the present poem. He will not try the shot that drives straight through, knocking the opponent's scoring piece off the mat; that would disturb his own piece, but, by taking advantage of the raised edge, or cushion, of the mat, he will come around and knock his opponent's piece off and score with two pieces of his own.

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Page 88. Mamaeaepoto to his wife

1. The wife of Mamaeaepoto sailed to Tonga, and there was unfaithful to him. The allusion is to the pleasant relations of husband and wife, which have been broken. In the phrase *kuo te loto kehe* (I have become of a different heart) *te* is the first person of the singular personal pronoun, probably used here in the general sense in which English uses "you," and the meaning is not that he has changed his mind, but, "Agreement, but there has come estrangement."

2. This is addressed perhaps to the public (*mou*, second person, plural), who were giving credence to some rumors about Mamaeaepoto and his wife, or perhaps to his wife and her friends.

3. Fekitetele and Houmafakalele are both in Vavau. Fekitetele may mean much caressing of each other, and, it might refer not only to actual locality indicated, but to the happy love of Mamaeaepoto and his wife.

4. I have left the translation "turtle-fishing" stand, although this use of the word seems to be confined to the small island of Moungaone in Haapai. What aspect of turtle-fishing, or of turtle-fishing as practised in Moungaone, is referred to is not clear, if, indeed, the reference is to turtle-fishing at all. Obviously there is something not of the best for faithful wedded wives.

5. "Pigeon of the mound" is the tamed pigeon, trained for snaring. Similarly "*mounu fakalele*" decoy made to fly, that is, the trained decoy pigeon. There is a well-known proverb, *Mounu vaoa* (decoy pigeon taken to the woods, the home-keeping pigeon gone back to the wild life).

6. Mataloko and Vaolongolongo (Cluster of fern) are evidently places associated with the happy married life of the man and his wife.

7. To turn back without completing the voyage is *liu-loto*. Mamaeaepoto makes up his mind to forget his wife, but turns back from this resolve.

8. This reference is not clear. Possibly the meaning is "if she had been forcibly seized it would not have been so bad, but she has gone of her own free will."

9. Afutoto is a stream, or pool. Besides the island in Samoa, there are numerous occurrences of the name Manono in Tonga. It is not clear what locality and water are referred to; but evidently some place to gain wisdom and insight.

10. "Even a wise man will be the victim of the alluring, blandishing god, love."

11. For Vainuku and Lolo, famous *manaia*, see p. 51.

12. A free translation of the lines is "There is as good fish in the sea as ever came from it." Away with remembrance, my love shall range free as the sea-birds; and yet the *liu-loto*, remembrance, comes back; thou art content, but I can not forget.

13. Matahina, a reef out at sea off Vavau; Fononga toa, a locality in Vavau.

14. Feletoa and Ahokaimoa, each occurs as the names of more than one locality. This Feletoa is probably the place in Vavau mentioned by Mariner as the scene of a great battle. The Finau immortalized by Mariner lies buried just outside the village. Ahokaimoa is not far from Feletoa. Apparently the bard and his wife had laid plans which had been upset by the woman's levity; she had left Feletoa and gone to Ahokaimoa to wait there for another lover.

15. "Marriage can be successful and happy only when it is inspired by mutual love." A number of proverbs in this connection indicate how deeply the Tongan imagination is impressed by unhappy endings to what should be permanently happy relations. (See 17, nos. 436, 439, 440, 455.)

Pages 88-89. Poem of Tangata-Iloa to Mulikihaamea

1. The objects enumerated seem simply to be associated with days and nights of dance and joy. The "floating star" may be either in the heavens, or in the sea Those acquainted with tropical seas will know how splendidly the stars are reflected.

2. There is a poem in which woman is called "manu launoa," chattering bird. Here the poet says that the woman is not always chattering, but at times she acts with reckless venturesomeness. He seems to refer to the girl's willingness to leave Mulikihaamea and to come to him; or perhaps the reference may be general, an appreciation of the courageous side of woman's character.

3. The word *lave*, poem, recitation, song, is here used of poetry and song and all their associations of dance, joy, and love.

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440. Pele tonoi: An adulterous favorite; one who returns the kindness of another by debauching his wife. 539 837 571

441. He oku fola fala kae alea e kainga: For the mats are spread and kin are talking. 539 593 602

The mats are the sleeping mats, and the picture is that of intimate domestic converse between those who may freely declare their minds without fearing the anger of their auditors, who, being their own kin, will stand even unfavorable criticism. Far different is this intercourse from the circumspection which must be observed in addressing the great of the land without the family circle. [576]

442. Talatala i fale: Speaking in the house, that is, in the privacy of the home, and among close kin, as for example the admonition of a father to his son. 539 521 593 602

443. Tala loto fale: Telling inside house. 539 521

This saying does not seem to be known, at least not very generally known, nowadays. Baker renders it: "To speak evil; to speak, to incite to evil." Evidently the idea is of taking the opportunity of private intercourse to utter things which one would not like to say before many auditors.

444. Apijia tae lava: Ceremony that does not come off. 539 584

Applied, for example, to a man who writes to a girl, or otherwise tries to win her for his wife, but is unsuccessful in his suit. The word *apijia*, which is probably connected with *api*, home, indicates that which one does for himself, for his own home.

445. Apitanga a lalahi: Camp of grown up people. 539 571

Used of a place where grown people only are living together without any of the trouble and care incident to the presence of children. A boat's crew is sometimes thus spoken of.

446. Fangu malingi i fale lahi: Calabash poured out in big house. 539 415 302 575 571

The calabash is the receptacle in which the sweet scented oil for anointing the body was kept, and the name has come to be applied to the oil itself. Whether in this phrase we translate *fangu* by calabash or by oil the meaning is the same. The *fale lahi*, big house, is the house in which the young men used to live together. The phrase indicates the holding of something in common. If one man took out his bottle of oil to anoint himself another and then another might use it after him until perhaps the oil was finished. No offence, however, would be taken at this, as the owner would not assert his private rights against his fellow-lodgers in the big house.

447. Kaumea kaumea faingamea: Friends, friends quarreling. 539 572

The reduplication of the word *kaumea* (friends) indicates a long continued comradeship; but it is at last broken by strife.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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further recommendation of being openhanded. The dour chief of Majilamea was rejected with the scornful inquiry as to when there was ever a man worth while from Majilamea. 539 584

Another rendering of this phrase, seemingly the more widely used, and probably the better, is *Kai pe tae a Majilamea* [Eat offal (excrement), Majilamea.] A delicate invitation of this sort is a common form of Tongan billingsgate. The expression has a wide application and may be compared in general with the Biblical question, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" 539 578 261

454. Fakakiki kae oho: Trembling but making a rush. 539 584

This indicates the rushing of a man into the danger which he at first feared. An instance given of its application does not indicate very stern perils, being nothing more alarming than the fair charmer before whom a man finds himself embarrassed and fearful, but whom at last he wins for his own.

455. Hoa a kehe: Mating of different (sorts). 539 593

Those who are married, or in some other way united, but are not well matched.

456. Manako Sea manako Sau: Baker translates this phrase: "To be in love with two opposite parties or things." 539 584

This, or some kindred meaning, seems undoubtedly to express the sense of the phrase, but it is difficult to get today a reliable explanation of the literal meaning. *Sea* and *sau* are unknown as common nouns and if they are used as names their occurrence must be very infrequent. However, Dr. Krämer (Samoa-Inseln, I Band, pp. 121 ff. and 176) quotes both *Sea* (in composition) and *Sau* as Samoan names for women. The Tongan account of the proverb is that *Sea* and *Sau* were two beautiful women (probably Samoans), both beloved by a handsome man (Tuitonga in one account) who, being unable to make up his mind between their rival charms, in the end got neither. One story makes a happier ending by asserting that he got both.

457. Mata lupe kehea: Seeing other dove. 539 837

The word dove is used here of a sweetheart and seems to be a very old term of endearment applied by a man to his mistress. This phrase means a man who has become enamored of a new charmer and forgotten his old love.

458. Poloji poloji pea koji kovi: Long-haired, long-haired, and cut evilly. 539 836

The wearing of two long locks of hair at the back of a girl's head was a sign of virginity, these locks being cut at marriage. Virginity was highly prized in a bride and was marked by special features in the marriage ceremony. The expression indicates a girl who has lost the right to wear the maiden locks before being duly married. 302 585

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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seduced me: but it would answer no useful end.

For the same reason, though it might serve to show the gross wickedness of a people, in many respects generous, humane and friendly; and might evince their need of that glorious light of christianity, which modern illuminati would extinguish, as darkening the light of simple nature, (which, notwithstanding all the refined speculations of sophistry, is too fully proved to be wholly corrupt,) I forbear to describe the disorderly meetings that were held, at particular spots, for nocturnal dances, and the tumultuous excursions of young men through the country during the night.* If, notwithstanding the light of divine truth, and the regulations of a police, in christian countries, so many harlots fill the streets of every populous town, it is not wonderful that "feenetakabous," the name by which, in these Islands, these depraved creatures are known, should abound in the polluting groves of Tonga.

Here, however, to the honor of the Tongas, it should be acknowledged, that no Arreoy society exists on the Island: the idea of the abominable practises of the Arreoys at Otaheite, they hold in detestation. They are never guilty of murdering their children: on the contrary, they have a numerous offspring, to which they are very much attach-

* Quædam ignorare sapientiæ est. . . . .

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175 ed: nor is adultery, on the part of the wife, pub-
837 lickly allowed here. The severest punishment
[847] might be inflicted on the offender, if discovered, by
[842] the husband. But in Tonga, as in this nominal
[684] christian kingdom, that is often secretly perpetrated,
which is publickly condemned. Great abuses,
however, are openly committed: of many of which,
I lament to say, that I have often been an eyewit-
ness; yea, joined in the practice of some of them.

000 Let every youth beware of the alluring attractions
of sensual objects. When a mind that has been
impressed with pious sentiments, once begins to lis-
ten to the voice of appetite, and to venture on in-
dulgence who knows how the spirit of God, when
his convictions have been repeatedly checked and
resisted, may, at length, be provoked to withdraw
them, and to leave the man to "go on frowardly in
the way of his heart," till he "commit all iniquity
with greediness "*

The illustrious example of the wisest King of
Israel proves, that passion is not weakened by in-
dulgence, that the desires of man are never satisfi-
ed, that our safety from the dominion of "youthful
lusts," is only in our "flight" from them, that to
make the tempter flee, we must "resist him sted-

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* An Heathen could say,
Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
Stultitia caruisse.

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

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her into the canoe, and gently seated her by the side of her husband. She then took leave of them. I did not perceive her shed tears, but she hung down her head with a melancholy, modest air, and gently waved her hand as a farewell. The four attendants remained with her[1] till the canoe was rowing off. They had been with her from her birth till this moment; when they resigned their charge to four others, who were to be the same guardians of her fidelity as the former had been of her virginity. It is the custom through life, thus carefully to keep the daughters of the principal chiefs. They are never suffered to be without one or two of these attendants, night and day. The [302] young women indeed pride themselves much upon their virginity, which they call taihenee: and as the token and ornament of that state, their hair is suffered to remain uncut till their marriage. Whether this distinction which is here properly considered the virgin's "glory," is then laid aside, because her honor then becomes inseparable from that of the husband, I know not, but it is singular, that they have only one word to express both husband and wife, viz. "Oanna," as though the union was so intimate that even language could not refer to the one without including the other.

As the husband receives his partner unspotted, he provides a similar guard to preserve her so. For, unchastity is considered of so little account at Tonga,

1 [i.e. the bride of the Tui Kanokupolu--Analyst]

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that though the husband might severely punish an offender, if discovered, yet they are frequently guilty of it in secret. The principal chiefs, therefore, have their wives guarded by elderly women, and O, that the influence of bad example may never make a Briton regret the want of such a precaution in his own land.

175 837 565

Before I leave this subject, I will venture an anachronism, by relating the process of a courtship at Tonga, as I witnessed it upon my return, till it closed in the marriage of the parties.

175 584

A chief had conceived an affection for the daughter of a neighbouring chief, in Tongataboo. His intention was made known to the parents by a present of provisions, which was brought while I was with them, by a messenger, who at the same time communicated his master's wishes to marry their daughter. The parents received the proposal with indifference, as though not desirous of an alliance with them. The agent urged his suit, but could not prevail upon them to accept of the present. This was an indication of not consenting to the match; and the man returned with his present. The next day, he came with an address still more urgent, and a present of provision more abundant. This was also rejected. On the third application, however, the parents yielded to the solicitations of this petty envoy, and accepted of his present; which was the sign of their consent. They then commu-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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nicated the affair to the daughter, who consented to the match. But, as the choice of a husband is not in the power of the daughters, but he is provided by the discretion of the parent, an instance of refusal on the part of the daughter, is unknown at Tonga-taboo. This, however, is deemed no hardship there, where divorce and unchastity are so general. Some power of accepting or rejecting a partner for life, seems highly reasonable for the fair inhabitants of an island, where marriage, sanctioned and confirmed by laws human and divine, is justly considered an inviolable covenant for life: and a chaste fidelity, the pure fountain of its bliss, which would be destroyed by the least contamination.

Preparations were then made for the nuptials. The joyful bridegroom arrived, and the virgin was introduced to him at the head of the same ceremonious procession described above, only in the latter part of the day. Almost the whole district was collected together to celebrate the marriage, and partook plenteously of the provisions collected for the occasion. At the close of the festival, the attendant women took the modest bride, who was seated by the side of her husband, by the hand, and gracefully conducted her in procession through the range of guests, to an apartment prepared for the occasion: to which he also soon retired; whilst the numerous visitors spent the night in entertainments and dances.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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658 877 544 545 special voyage to Nukualofa to beg a new chimney from Tukuaho. It was high time to interfere with these boyish escapades, and we therefore temporised, sending a message to the band that they had overstayed their leave, and would be expelled unless they came back. This brought them to their senses, and they sailed in with flags flying, and the big drum beating defiance. They were forthwith assembled, and offered the choice between obedience to orders or expulsion. They were at first inclined to be mutinous, but on the reflection that the instruments were Government property they became more amenable to discipline.

645 837 Tonga is not the first State whose public affairs have been deranged by feminine frailty. Was there not a Mark Antony? But Mark Antony did not write shorthand nor keep the minutes of the Council, and it may therefore be doubted whether he was as necessary to the dying Republic as Uiliame Umufuke, *alias* Mataka, was [212] to the kingdom of Tonga. Mataka was invaluable. He knew all the secrets of the Cabinet and Privy Council, yet his mouth was closed; he understood the business of each office better than the head of the Department; he could take down a speech in shorthand faster than the speaker could utter the words; and he was a more useful spy and detective than fat Peter or any of his satellites. A blow was struck at the wellbeing of the State when Mataka got into trouble, for there was but one inexorable law for the rich and the poor, the indispensable and the unnecessary.

Mataka's troubles fell on this wise. Tukuaho had a fair cousin, Lobase, who had espoused Lulu the bandmaster,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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now absent in Vavau in the train of the magic-lantern. Mataka, it seems, had been indiscreet, and Lulu had instructed the *Inisipekta* of Police to prosecute on his behalf. I know nothing of the details—they did not interest me; I only know that Mataka and Lobase were weighed in the scales of justice, and that their scale kicked the beam. Mataka's seat was empty next morning, and the office was disorganised. Sibu made four mistakes in his first letter, and could not find the correspondence register. Later in the day, in the person of a sulky convict with cropped head unloading a banana waggon, I recognised the Clerk of the Privy Council.

The frail fair meanwhile, being unable to find the 60 dollars required to pay her fine, delivered herself up to work it out at the rate of 1s. a-day, and was told off to G.'s household. She was a fair specimen of the grisette of the country, coquettish, naïve, and thoroughly frivolous. Her views of life were matured. She was born into the world, she said, to enjoy herself, and as the capacity for enjoyment wanes when one is old and ugly, pleasures must all be crowded into the fleeting hours of youth. She had heard that there were people who gave their hearts once and for all—she could indeed dimly imagine the condition of mind that brought it. It was very nice and all that, but her own experience was different. She had been in love a great many times, and always just as much each time. What made her fall in love? She did not know. She supposed that the man surpassed all others for strength and beauty—then she loved him, and after a while he grew to seem less handsome in her eyes, and she saw another who surpassed even him. No! She never

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

837 loved Lulu. He was her husband, chosen for her by her friends: moreover, he was an angry man.

Lobase's punishment sat lightly on her. In due course bandmaster Lulu returned and compounded the matter with the jailer; but even this did not seem to soften the heart of his spouse. Less than a week after his return he burst into my office in great excitement to complain that band practice was impossible because his cornet was locked up in his house, and "the woman Lobase" had hidden the key. The conjugal recriminations, when she was called upon for explanations, were bitter and shrill. Poor Lulu! His band in the act of rehearsing the grand march from Tannhäuser was easier to manage than his fair but fickle wife.

593 [142] [302]

Lobase.

181 There is a lack of thoroughness about the Tongans. They pine to live like Europeans, to own implements and horses and saddlery, yet not one of them can bake a loaf

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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partly responsible for this. The missionary found himself outvoted by the members of his own district meeting, and the last vestige of the power of the missionaries was gone.

One of the strangest features in this struggle of opposing forces was the unwitting modification in the Christian code as taught by the missionaries themselves. The people were polygamists. Their climate, physique, and mode of life conduced to incontinence, which, however, was kept in check by a severe social code of their own. This the missionaries swept away. For the dread of immediate physical punishment which the people felt, the missionaries tried to substitute the fear of retribution in another world,—a contingency too remote to have much weight with them. The standard of social morality, never very high, was at once lowered, and the astonished missionaries tried in vain to stem the flowing tide with every penalty they could invent and enforce. Gradually their own sense of proportion became warped. The seventh commandment overshadowed all the others in their mental horizon. The police, taking their cue from the Sunday sermon, let felons go their way, and spent all their energies in tracking down philanderers. Even the Legislature, copying the early missionary codes, gave such a prominence to offences against the social laws, that, provided a man kept the seventh commandment in its widest application, he might commit almost any other crime in the calendar.

The change in the temper of the people has not taken place without a corresponding change in the spirit of the missionaries. Tonga and Fiji are no longer regarded as the fields for men of special talents. The young men sent

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

595 562 [831] as well as the men. The structure of society provided in practice the independence of women, which is the dream of some modern feminists. It is necessary for the European to rid his mind of associations of nastiness in dealing with these matters, and to remember that the Polynesian receives the facts connected with the handing on of human life with the same simple candour as the phenomena observed in his garden or anywhere else. I have overheard a man, whose domestic life is impeccable judged by strict European standards, discussing the numerous loves of a famous chiefly lady of bygone days, and his comment was what an extraordinarily fine woman she must have been to be desirable in the eyes of so many husbands, to all of whom she bore children.

622 837 In general it was probably an honour for a girl to attract the attention of a chief of high rank, and apart from marriages marked by the elaborate exchange of gifts, there were many less formal unions, which did not lead to a girl becoming a regular inmate of a chief's compound. A girl who is taken to a chief is sometimes said to "roll his mat," indicating her duty of rolling up the sleeping-mats and making herself generally useful about the person of her lord. [621] [858] [551] [858] [585] A village used sometimes to select a beautiful maiden to be the temporary mate of a chief, and bear them a babe of lofty lineage. The child was called by a special name indicating that he belonged to the whole village. Children are desired by both men and women. In the marriage ceremonies described in Tukuaho's diary there is a blessing of the bride, "And may you bear children, yea twins."

582 565 For a man to succumb to the attractions of a girl of inferior rank is not uncommon, but for a woman to condescend to an inferior is rare; or it may be expressed in another way, that a man would scarcely dare aspire to a lady of superior station to himself. Such aspirations would be resented by other men as offensively presumptuous. 644 582 565 609 This led to the frequent marriage of the female Tui Tonga, the highest woman of all excepting her own daughter, to a foreigner. It is only in a comparatively recent period that the genealogies exhibit certain cases of the marriage of this august lady, and in these instances the bridegroom always belongs to one or two houses of Fijian extraction. The first recorded marriage of a female Tui Tonga is to a chief who actually came from Fiji; but the outside blood once introduced sufficed to give the house enough of foreignness to exempt its members from the restrictions that bound the Tongan, and to provide bridegrooms for the exalted brides. This lady must have been so restricted in the choice of a husband as to have been generally a strict monogamist. 622 595 It was not uncommon for the wife of a chief to obtain other wives for him, usually it would seem, selected from amongst her own younger female relatives over whom she had power or influence. These secondary brides were

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

called *fokonofo*. The Tongan creation myth relates that when the gods were first a-courting, and the world was in course of coming into being, one of the goddesses secured as *fokonofo* for her husband two of her sister divinities, and tradition ascribes to the ancient king Tui-ta-tui, wives so successfully zealous in adding to his harem, that even Solomon's household does not appear by comparison the outstanding achievement that the unenterprising European might regard it.

The chiefs were said to have a pre-emptive right to all the women in their tribes. In theory the chiefs had the absolute disposal of the persons and property of their people. Stories are related of the king Tukuaho—not the diarist—which show the harsh caprice with which a great lord might treat his people, as, for example, when he ordered the hands of his cooks to be cut off because they had prepared his food badly; but the murder of this tyrant after less than three years of his sullen rule shows that, in Tonga as elsewhere, natural human reactions impose practical checks on theoretical absolutism. Evidently the chiefs freely used their privileges in love, but there is no reason to suppose that the lower orders of society were thereby deprived of mates. Intrigue with the wife of a superior, however, was a very grave breach, and might even lead to the man being killed by his own people, without waiting for the vengeance of the chief. On the other hand there is a story of a king who left his wife and babe in charge of another man whilst he went on a voyage, but found on his return that the pair had abused his trust. He forgave them both, and gave the lady as wife to his unfaithful friend.

Cousin marriages are rare. Brothers and sisters are called by the same term as first cousins, and more distant collateral relatives. All these "brothers" and "sisters," near and remote, are alike *tabu* to each other. There are restrictions, on the whole well observed, but weakening in these latter days, on the most ordinary intercourse between youths and girls so related. More liberty in the matter of cousin marriages is accorded the great chiefly families than to commoners, and a cousin marriage (probably when it does happen a mating of rather distant cousins) amongst the lower orders of society is spoken of as an imitation of the chiefs. In the days when the Tui Tonga chieftainship flourished there was a well established custom for him to take as his principal wife, and the mother of his successor, the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaua, the chief next in rank to the Tui Tonga. At a later period, when the Tui Haatakalaua chieftainship had declined before the growing importance of the Tui Kanokupolu, the daughter of the latter lord used regularly to become the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. This resulted in the cross-cousin marriage of the Tui Tonga to his mother's brother's daughter.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

574 extent, and form the chief source from whence
431 evils arise, among church members, which re-
578 quire the exercise of discipline by the Mission-
178 aries.

181 The morals of the Tonguese were never so
577 thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or Society Islanders, and other groups that might be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to show how low humanity could fall, when without the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith.
595 Polygamy was common, the number of a man's wives depending upon his own inclination, and his ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to
[837] connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to
[586] have bordered on morality; for, after the parties had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was considered disgraceful to separate. There were also some, even among the better classes, who were content to live with one wife only; and examples of domestic happiness were by no means uncom-
847 mon. Infanticide did not disgrace the history, and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation.
855 Children were nurtured with great care and affec-
888 tion; and aged people were not subjected to the neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet,
181 with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and
831 want of natural affection.

152 There can be no doubt as to the existence of
266 cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

Another native, commenting on sexual breaches, remarked that a man who violated the wife of a great chief would be slain by his own people. There would seem to be little doubt that if any such hardy lover escaped the vengeance of mortals his offence would not pass unnoticed of the unseen powers. In fact an instance of this sort was recently related to Mr. Gifford and myself. A man of considerable rank had gone from the island of Eua to Tongatabu and was living in close and friendly connection with the reigning Tui Tonga. The latter went on a voyage to Haapai shortly after one of his wives (not the chief wife) had given birth to a child, leaving the mother and babe to the care of the Euan whose relations with his fair charge soon became too fond and intimate. As a consequence of his wife's frailty the Tui Tonga found on his return that the child had fallen ill. The secret of the guilty pair had, however, not yet been divulged, and recourse was had to the lot, by spinning a coconut, to discover the person whose wrong-doing was responsible for the royal infant's alarming condition. The lot fell between the Tui Tonga himself and his unfaithful spouse. The next spin brought the guilt right home to the woman who confessed her sin. The story ends in a manner to satisfy the most susceptible reader of love romances. Not only did the Tui Tonga forgive the lady, but he bestowed both her and the infant on the successful lover, and all three removed to Eua where the child became the progenitor of a line of chiefs. It was apparently no uncommon thing for a village to choose a handsome girl to take to a high chief that she might bring back to them a chiefly child. Such a child was called by a word indicating that he was not so much the possession of an individual mother as of the whole village or family group.

The consequences attendant on illicit love affairs are often illustrated today. Not infrequently a man and woman who do not desire to marry, or are unable to because of some previous union, take an oath of mutual fidelity on the Bible. Various circumstances may make them desire to be rid of this bond. Perhaps if the woman is married one of her legitimate children falls ill. One of the parties themselves, or one or other of their relatives, may become sick, or die. Although no entanglements of this sort may be impeding the course

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

each to serve a certain number, these generally divide again, so that one seldom sees above two or three eating together. The Women are not excluded from eating with the Men, but there are certain ranks or orders among them that can neither eat nor drink together; it begins with the King but where it ends I cannot say.[1]

Amusements Of their amusements I need add nothing to what has been already said on this su[b]ject in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.[2] Polygamy is

Polygamy allowed to the Cheifs, and it is no uncommon thing to meet with some who will tell us they have got eight or ten wives, but the most of them are satisfied with one at least many had no more. Some of us were of opinion, that the most of those which they called their wives were only concubines, and that there was only one that was looked upon as the wife and who always appeared to be the Mistress of the family.[3] As chastity at first sight appeared to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of the conjugal fidelity in the Married Women or kept Mistresses, which you please, but it was the very contrary. I do not know that our whole Stay produced one instance; neither are those of the better sort that are unmarr[i]ed more free of their favours, its true there are no want of those of a different stamp, and perhaps they are more numerous in proportion to the number of people than in many other Countries; but it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class of people, and such as came to our people were Whores by profession and brought to us in order to make the most of the present time.

Diseases This commerce has unhappily entailed upon them the Veneral deasease, as we had not been long at Anamocka before some of our people were affected with it, and I had the Mortification to find that all the care I took when I first Visited these islands to prevent this dreadfull desease from being communicated to them, prove enefectual. What is extraordinary the people do not

[1] The general rule was that inferiors could not eat with superiors: the Tu'i Tonga could not eat in the presence of the Tamaha, and so on down the whole scale of precedence. There was also the brother-sister *tapu*, the sister being of higher rank than her brother.

[2] '. . . to their private diversions may be added their household ones, the men have a game calld Kaka-'haho exactly like our Cup & ball. The Children have plays familiar to themselves, as throwing up 5 or 6 balls & catching each successively, this is mostly a Girls diversion, the boys cut a string exactly in the same manner as we do a Garter & take off & on in various shapes & ways from the fingers, they walk on Coco nut shells as we do on stilts by means of a Cord thro: the hole of the Shell with many other plays like our Children.'—King.

[3] This was so, though to equate 'concubine' with 'kept mistress', as Cook does in his next sentence, is not quite happy. The word must be used in the technical polygamous social sense: a Tongan bride might bring her husband a *fakamafo*, a secondary or supplementary wife, selected by herself from her own family, perhaps a younger sister—or perhaps

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

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scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be understood that this is without exception universal, as there are many women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not pregnable on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society. The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by jealousy on either side,[1] and what is perhaps still more uncommon, that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age their affection for their children and care in providing for them excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute excercise their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits, and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

[1] But cf. p. 96a below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

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edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd together (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd) by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1] some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger, well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out & stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long, the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet; the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff[t] sizes & will carry from 30 to 70 people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout. The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made of rough fish skin. . . .

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are binding, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast.

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& many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms, as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we endeavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate, that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her displeasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff[t] Islands have different religions.[1]

They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul: they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast[g] place to be on this Globe, shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance, upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up....

. . . . . .

TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 1000–112*]

AUGUST 13[th] [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt[n] Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

[1] Different gods, rather.

[2] Otua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu. [3] Hikuleo.

[457 cont.]

175 609 171 831 and were easily persuaded to come on board, perfectly naked, without professing greater chastity than the common women at Taheitee, and the Society Isles. Our seamen took advantage of 175 609 836 their disposition, and once more offered to our eyes a scene worthy of the Cyprian temples. A shirt, a small piece of cloth, nay a few beads, were sometimes sufficient temptations, for which some of the women of Tonga-Tabboo, prostituted themselves without any sense 175 836 [837] of shame. This lubricity was, however, very far from being general, and we had reason to believe that not a single married woman was guilty of infidelity. If we had been acquainted with the distinction of ranks as at Taheitee, it is highly probable, that we should have observed no other prostitutes than such as belonged to the lowest class of people. Still it remains an unaccountable singularity in the character of the nations of this part of our globe, that they suffer any of their unmarried women to admit the promiscuous embraces 000 of a multitude of lovers. Can they imagine, that after giving such an unlimited course to the impulses of nature, they will make better wives, than the innocent and the chaste? But it is in vain that we endeavour to find reasons for the arbitrary whims of mankind. Their opinions in respect of the sex in particular, have been infinitely various in all ages and countries. [458] In some parts of India, no man of consequence will condescend to marry a virgin; in Europe she who has lost that character is universally rejected. Turks, Arabs, Tartars, and Russians are jealous even of an imaginary characteristic of virginity, which the native of Malabar bestows upon his Idol.

175 609 None of these women ventured to stay on board after sun-set, but returned to the shore to pass the night, like the greater part

592 moved out of the household. At this stage adults feel the need for
597 companionship, and may also need assistance in performing household chores and subsistence tasks.

597 The reasons why parents allow their children to be adopted are both the negative factors of hardship and a willingness to assist childless
[848] couples. Illegitimate children are frequently adopted by someone in the mother's family, not because of any great stigma but to give the child a socially acceptable position and to free the mother to find a
[837] husband. Children thought to have been conceived in adulterous relationships are often unwanted by the mother's husband, and he might in-
[586] sist that the child be adopted out. Men who lose their wives through
[768] death or divorce and are left with small children will usually allow them to be adopted or even actively seek an adopter. Parents experiencing economic hardship, severe illness, or marital instability may actively encourage the adoption of their children. It is believed that
[602] families with several children should be willing to give one to a childless kinsman and in some cases this seems to be the only motivation.

Gratitude for services rendered will sometimes result in adoptions. A women who cures a sick child may be given the child as a gesture of parental appreciation. Another example is provided by a man I shall call Finau who was visiting an outer island. During his stay there Finau had an argument with the kinsman he was visiting and was asked to leave. A non-kinsman befriended him and looked after Finau until passage could be arranged back to Tongatapu, the main island. Out of gratitude Finau asked his benefactor what he could do in return. The

/66 cont./

585 The marriage was, of course, entered into only in accordance with
581 ancient Tongan custom (festivity). The legal marriage (registration)
and the church wedding may have contributed to a certain stabilization
583 of marriage. "Flight marriages" (that is, lovers who are of age
585 marrying against the will of their parents by fleeing to another
178 island in the Archipelago and registering their marriage there) which
565 occasionally takes place today, probably did not occur in ancient
Tonga in this form. For the commoners (190)

190. The great majority of commoners were farmers (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300).

[429] were bound to the soil far more than they are today. They cultivated
[571] the land of the chiefs which the latter /67/ lent them against duties,
and they were so greatly dependent on their masters that they were
permitted under no circumstances to change from one territorial
565 jurisdiction to another. Working his individual land naturally gave
585 the commoner more freedom. The far fewer economic burdens probably
178 had a beneficial effect on family life, for they usually gave it a
581 sounder basis.--From the preceding account and the figures given it
[590] becomes clear that the family has remained predominantly patrilocal
[611] and patrilinear. The way of life of commoners in pre-European times
[582] suggests that the marriage partners came from the same locality even
more than is the case today.

565 A considerable change took place in the family life of nobles.
178 As a result of the Christianization of the Archipelago they gave up
595 polygamy, apparently with littly resistance, and today they lead a
married life resembling that of commoners. Monogamy is thus
593 practiced by all the people, at least outwardly. While wives are
837 mostly faithful to their husbands, many husbands take the liberty of
[178] having affairs with other girls or women. This is apparently an

/67 cont./

593 837 [178] ancient Tongan custom, for Mariner already reports "that no man is understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity," /cited in English/ (191)

191. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 175.

but he adds that most men remain reasonably faithful to their wives and that excesses in extramarital relations on the part of the men are not looked upon with favor. Today in Tonga there is something 587 586 resembling "successive polygamy" in which the marriage partners dissolve the marriage and enter into one marriage after another. Thus, in April 1952, among the 82 marriages formally adhered to in 'Uiha, there were 12 in which the partners had separated without a regular divorce. In eight cases the husband, in four cases the wife "departed" (acting on their own initiative, usually to relatives in another island of the Archipelago), with no thought of even returning, 178 586 587 and soon entered another marriage. This free attitude toward married life is reminiscent of ancient Tongan times when, according to Mariner's calculation, some two-thirds of all women were married, of these half stayed with their husbands, while the rest were married and quickly divorced again, only to be remarried three, four or five times during their lives. (192)

192 J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 167/168.

[562] Since freedom to dissolve the marriage in ancient Tonga was almost entirely the husband's privilege, we must note here a certain change in favor of the wife.

581 However, Tongan marriage seems more stable today than it was in 178 old times, (193)

586 177 193. Also compare the figures given above with reference to unmarried individuals in 'Uiha and Fungamisi.

especially since, through the Christianization of Tonga, /68/ it was reinforced to a certain extent by religion, and lawful divorce is no

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed, to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177 178 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure (797) (595) (592) of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the missionaries who were the most important representatives of European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan (585) (423) (642) marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the church wedding, (203)

203. Including registration with public authorities. and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization, 177 797 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/ innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance, family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries, created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even (581) the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward marriage. (204)

(837)

204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

/74 cont./

848 to begin with are regarded with suspicion in such cases. Most
582 young Tongan men seem to marry another girl than the one with whom
836 they have had pre-marital intercourse.

836 Apart from the aforementioned limited decrease of pre-marital
177 intercourse as a result of European influence (mission work), the
178 present situation as described corresponds more or less to ancient Tongan times. For Mariner already tells us of the freedom of unmarried girls (212)

212. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

and of certain difficulties in winning a girl (unmarried woman). (213)

213. The same, loc. cit. II. p. 174.

178 Then, as today, unmarried men seldom try married women (214)
836
837 and promiscuity and prostitution are scarcely noticeable on the small
548 islands. (215)

214. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

215. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 174/175.

177 However, the often inglorious behavior of foreign troops on Tongatapu
548 during the Second World /75/ War has led to the fact that in Nuku'alofa,
562 for example, various Tonga women offer themselves for money, and in the seaports a certain roughness of young Tongan men in their conduct toward females may probably be traced back to the influence of war.

Nuptials

581 Tongans usually marry out of personal affection and practical
584 affection and practical considerations. Often the parents of the man or girl try to dispose them toward a "better" match, and the couple will sometimes ignore the parents' will ("flight marriage," see p. 96). Childhood betrothals arranged by the parents (216)

216. These are mentioned by Mariner for roughly one-third of the married women (to men of higher rank than commoners) (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 167).